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## Character and Capacity of the Filipinos.

SPEECH

OF

# HON. AUGUSTUS O. BACON,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

*Monday, June 2, 1902.*

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration the bill (S. 2295) temporarily to provide for the administration of the affairs of civil government in the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes—

Mr. BACON said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: There has been a good deal said in this debate about the character of the Filipino people, and a good many things have been said which I think are contrary to the facts and unauthorized. I desire to put into the RECORD, in order that they may appear in this debate, some estimates which have been made of this people by those who have had the best opportunity to judge of their capacity.

I will say in the beginning that criticism has been made upon those of us on this side of the Chamber who oppose this bill, that while we profess to deprecate military rule we do not support a bill to establish civil government when the opportunity is offered. It is not the fact that we are unwilling to support a bill to establish civil government, but that we object to a bill which is not proper in itself.

And speaking of the details of the bill I wish to say that in addition to the fundamental objection that no promise of independent nationality is given to the Filipinos, my particular objections to it are two. One is that it fails to give to the Filipinos opportunity for participation in their government through their representatives, and the other is that it affords an opportunity for exploitation, and as I said the other day, I think all matters with respect to the disposition of the property and franchises of those islands should be postponed until the people themselves can have an opportunity to determine what shall be done with reference to them.

My purpose now is not to make anything like a speech, but simply to call attention to and to have put in the RECORD the testimonials which have been given by others as to the capacity of this people. The first person whose testimony I will give is that of Admiral Dewey. I will remark that many of the extracts, if not all of them, have already been mentioned in the Senate at various times, but I desire them to appear consecutively as a part of the debate.

On the 27th of June, 1898, in response to a telegram sent to him by the Secretary of the Navy, Admiral Dewey sent this reply, which will be found in the report of the Secretary of the Navy for 1898, volume 2, page 103:

In my opinion these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races.

DEWEY.

Then in Senate Document 62, which contains the documents sent by the executive department to the Senate, there is another dispatch from Admiral Dewey, found on page 383, in which he says this, referring to the former telegram:

In a telegram sent to the Department on June 23 I expressed the opinion that "these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races." Further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion.

We have sent two commissions to the Philippine Islands which have made very careful examinations into the question as to the capacity of the Filipinos to participate in their own government. Each of these commissions has sent a recommendation, which is before the Senate, that the Filipinos be permitted to have participation in their government to the extent of the election of a representative body by them which shall be clothed with legislative powers. The Schurman Commission and the Taft Commission have both made that recommendation.

The Schurman Commission made a very elaborate examination into the question of the capacity of the Filipino people and their character, and the testimony takes up almost the entire second volume of the report of the Schurman Commission, where is set out the testimony of a great many witnesses, men of standing and capacity, and who have had opportunity to judge. The testimony is abundant in that volume as to the belief that these people are of sufficient intelligence and character to participate through representative bodies in the control of their own government. As a result of that examination and as a conclusion, the Commission, on page 119 of the first volume of their report, use this language in giving the reasons why in their opinion those people are capacitated to participate in their own government.

For this confidence it has the following, among other grounds: First, the study by educated Filipinos of the various examples of constitutional government has resulted in their selection, as best adapted to the conditions and character of the various peoples inhabiting the archipelago, of almost precisely the political institutions and arrangements which have been worked out in practice by the American people; and these are also, though less definitely apprehended, the political ideas of the masses of the Philippine people themselves.

This point has been frequently illustrated in the course of the preceding exposition, and it must here suffice to say that the commission was constantly surprised by the harmony subsisting between the rights, privileges, and institutions enjoyed by Americans and the reforms desired by the best Filipinos. Secondly, in addition to the adaptation of the American form of government to the Filipinos, the Filipinos themselves are of unusually promising material. They possess admirable domestic and personal virtues, and though they are uncontrollable when such elemental passions as jealousy, revenge, or resentment are once aroused, most of them—practically all of the civilized inhabitants of Luzon and Visayas—are naturally and normally peaceful, docile, and deferential to constituted authority.

On the suppression of the insurrection the great majority of them will be found to be good, law-abiding citizens. Thirdly, though the majority of the inhabitants are uneducated, they evince a strong desire to be instructed, and the example of Japan is with them a cherished ideal of the value of modern education. A system of free schools for the people—another American institution, it will be noted—has been an important element in every Philippine programme of reforms. Fourthly, the educated Filipinos, though constituting a minority, are far more numerous than is generally supposed, and are scattered all over the archipelago; and the Commission desires to bear the strongest testimony to the high range of their intelligence, and not only to their intellectual training, but also to their social refinement, as well as to the grace and charm of the personal character. These educated Filipinos, in a word, are the equals of men one meets in similar vocations, law, medicine, business, etc., in Europe or America.

That which I have just read is a part of the report of the Schurman Commission, of which Professor Schurman, Mr. Denby, Professor Worcester, Admiral Dewey, and, I believe, General Otis, were members.

In a book published by a member of the same Commission, written before the Spanish war and at a time when there was no inducement to partisanship, entitled "The Philippine Islands," by Dean C. Worcester, on page 479, he draws this very attractive and interesting picture of the character and social conditions of the Filipinos.

The civilized Filipino certainly has many good qualities to offset his bad traits. The traveler can not fail to be impressed by his open-handed and cheerful hospitality. He will go to any amount of trouble, and often to no little expense, in order to accommodate some perfect stranger who has not the slightest claim on him; and he never turns one of his own race from his door.

If cleanliness be next to godliness, he certainly has much to recommend him. Every village has its bath, if there is any chance for one, and men, women, and children patronize it liberally. Should the situation of a town be unfortunate in this particular, its people will carry water from a great distance if necessary, and in any event will keep clean.

Hardly less noticeable than the almost universal hospitality are the well-regulated homes and the happy family life, which one soon finds to be the rule. Children are orderly, respectful, and obedient to their parents. Wives are allowed an amount of liberty hardly equaled in any other Eastern country, and they seldom abuse it. More often than not they are the financiers of their families, and I have frequently been referred by the head of a house to "mi mujer" when I wished to make a bargain. Women have their share of the work to do, but it is a just share, and they perform it without question and without grumbling.

At vespers in the evening there is always a pretty scene. An instant hush comes over the busy village. In each house father, mother, and children fall on their knees before the image or picture of some saint and repeat their prayers. The devotions over, each child kisses the hand of his father and his mother, at the same time wishing them good evening. He then makes an obeisance to each of his brothers and sisters, as well as to each guest who happens to be present, repeating his pleasant salutation with each funny bow. Host and hostess also greet one in the same way, and in remote places, where white men are a rarity, the little tots often kneel to kiss one's hand.

The civilized native is self-respecting and self-restrained to a remarkable degree. He is patient under misfortune and forbearing under provocation. While it is stretching the truth to say that he never reveals anger, he certainly succeeds much better in controlling himself than does the average European. When he does give way to passion, however, he is as likely as not to become for the moment a maniac and to do someone a fatal injury.

He is a kind father and a dutiful son. His aged relatives are never left in want, but are brought to his home and are welcome to share the best that it affords to the end of their days.

Among his fellows he is genial and sociable. He loves to sing, dance, and make merry. He is a born musician, and, considering the sort of instruments at his disposal, and especially the limited advantages which he has for perfecting himself in their use, his peformances on them are often very remarkable.

He is naturally fearless and admires nothing so much as bravery in others. Under good officers he makes an excellent soldier, and he is ready to fight to the death for his honor or his home.

Mr. President, in connection with what I read from Admiral Dewey, making comparison between the capacity and the intelligence of the Filipinos and the Cubans and awarding superiority to the Filipinos, I desire to say that I have asked a great many Army officers, who have served both in Cuba and in the Philippines, what their estimate was, and without a single exception every Army officer has given me the same opinion that Admiral Dewey expressed in these two telegrams to the Secretary of the Navy, that the Filipinos are superior in point of capacity and intelligence to the Cubans. Of course, he is speaking of the average of the two peoples.

It is exceedingly gratifying to me that the testimony of Admiral Dewey and the statement of Professor Worcester in his book is corroborated by all of the official documents which have been sent to us by the Executive Department in regard to that matter and also by the testimony which has been taken before the Senate Committee on the Philippines.

I have in my hand a part of the testimony. I can not refer to a great many things that are in it, but I will refer to a few only. Governor Taft is very emphatic in his commendation of the Philippine people as a people of character and good disposition and intelligence. On page 410 of the testimony there is this question and answer, the chairman asking the question of Governor Taft:

The Filipinos are temperate?

Governor TAFT. Yes, sir; the Filipinos are temperate, but they drink. They drink a little vino, and vino shops have been very largely reduced since our occupancy and under the civil government.

Then Governor Taft, in response to another question on the same page, said what I shall read:

The CHAIRMAN. The sale of liquor has been regulated and reduced since you have been there?

Governor TAFT. Yes, sir; it has; and I venture to say that the moral condition of the city of Manila is as good as that of any American city I know of.

On page 77 of the same volume of testimony there is a statement by Governor Taft in the nature of a voluntary statement on his part, and I think it important to call attention to it in view of the very general and unqualified assertions which have been made as to the character of the Filipinos in their prosecution of the war. Governor Taft says:

I desire to say, with respect to the treatment of American prisoners by the insurgent officers high in command, that there was usually very little to criticise. When you get to officers lower in command you will find instances of the murder of American prisoners, not many, but enough to cause comment as to the difference in treatment.

In this connection I read the cablegram, to which I have already called attention, from Admiral Dewey, of June 27. He says:

HONGKONG, *June 27, 1898.*

SECRETARY OF NAVY, *Washington:*

Receipt of telegram of June 14 is acknowledged. Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, with 13 of his staff, arrived May 19, by permission, on *Nanshan*. Established self Cavite, outside arsenal, under the protection of our guns, and organized his army. I have had several conferences with him, generally of a personal nature.

Consistently, I have refrained from assisting him in any way with the force under my command, and on several occasions I have declined requests that I should do so, telling him the squadron could not act until the arrival of the United States troops. At the same time I have given him to understand that I consider insurgents as friends, being opposed to a common enemy. He has gone to attend a meeting of insurgent leaders for the purpose of forming a civil government. Aguinaldo has acted independently of the squadron, but has kept me advised of his progress, which has been wonderful. I have allowed to pass by water recruits, arms, and ammunition, and to take such Spanish arms and ammunition from the arsenal as he needed.

Here is the part to which I wish to call attention:

Have advised frequently to conduct the war humanely, which he has done invariably. My relations with him are cordial, but I am not in his confidence. The United States has not been bound in any way to assist insurgents by any act or promises, and he is not to my knowledge committed to assist us. I believe he expects to capture Manila without my assistance, but doubt ability, they not yet having many guns. In my opinion these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races.

DEWEY.

General MacArthur, in his testimony before the Committee on the Philippines, said what I shall read. He was speaking as to the policy of granting to the Filipinos the opportunity to participate through representative government in the control of their own affairs. I can not go back entirely, but I will take up enough to make the connection.

Senator CARMACK. Will not that depend very largely on granting them at least a considerable measure of political rights and share in the government that is established over them?

General MACARTHUR. Undoubtedly, and they are getting that.
Senator CARMACK. In what way?
General MACARTHUR. They have almost complete control of their municipal governments. They have been given a very considerable control of the provincial government, and what they get in the general government depends upon future action. So far as I am concerned, I should be glad to give them a very considerable voice.
Senator BEVERIDGE. Do I understand you by that to mean that as they demonstrate their fitness and capability in these minor and smaller fields of political action their participation in larger affairs would be increased accordingly?
General MACARTHUR. Yes; I think of course that is——
Senator PATTERSON. I do not think it is just or fair for the Senator to make such a statement——
Senator CARMACK. I understand you to say that you would be willing to give them a very considerable share in the general government?
General MACARTHUR. Yes.
Senator CARMACK. Do you think they should have that now?
General MACARTHUR. I would be willing to give it to them, as I have said. I have become attached to those people and have a good deal of faith in them.
Senator CARMACK. You speak of them as quick, generous, and intelligent people.
General MACARTHUR. I so consider them. Of course the society is classified, as it is everywhere else.
Senator CARMACK. But as a whole. General, I believe in your reports you speak of the Filipino people in an appreciative way—as a people with considerable native intelligence, quick and apt and generous, flexible and teachable.
General MACARTHUR. I believe that is the general tenor.
Senator CARMACK. That is the general tenor of your report?
General MACARTHUR. Yes.
Senator CARMACK. You do not regard the people of the Philippine Islands, as a whole, as a miserable, corrupt, cruel, and a degraded race, do you, General?
General MACARTHUR. Oh, by no means.

And so on.

Now, Mr. President, there is a very interesting and detailed statement made as to the character and social conditions of the Philippine people, to which the attention of the Senate has more than once been called, and parts of which have been inserted in the RECORD, but which I desire now to have read in this connection.

It was alluded to on Saturday by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER], and the effect of these statements by two naval officers was endeavored to in some degree be depreciated by the suggestion that the officers did not have an opportunity to see anything except such things as the Filipino people desired them to see, in order that they might not have a true appreciation of conditions as they existed; but the fact is that these two officers were for several weeks going through the islands, and the general narration which they gave shows that they saw not a limited and circumscribed part of the conditions as they existed, but that they mingled generally with the people and had the best of opportunity for forming an estimate of their character and their social condition and habits.

It is a report made by two naval officers, Paymaster W. B. Wilcox and Naval Cadet L. R. Sargent, who made an extended tour through northern Luzon in the autumn of 1898. This is an extract from a book written on the Philippines by Albert G. Robinson, and it is found beginning on page 284.

I will state that this visit was made by these two officers at a time when the American Army was in Manila, and when the entire island of Luzon, to say nothing of any other part of the archipelago, was under the control of the Filipino government, and that whatever there was of order and of orderly government in that island at that time was entirely under the authority of the Filipino government, with which the American Government at

that time had no connection, and over which the American Army attempted to exercise no control.

As it is a little long I will ask that the Secretary may read it for me, and in order that the connection may be maintained I will ask him to begin at the beginning of the chapter, on page 282, and read through to page 290, or so much as may be necessary to preserve the continuity, the whole of it being afterwards reproduced in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

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Mr. Sargent, in opening his article, recalls the conditions in October and November, 1898, when the journey was made:

"It will be remembered that at that date the United States had not yet announced its policy with regard to the Philippines. The terms of the treaty with Spain were being negotiated by our commissioners at Paris, and the fate of the islands hung in the balance. In the meantime the native population, taking matters into their own hands, had declared their independence from all foreign jurisdiction, and had set up a provisional government with Aguinaldo at its head. Although this government has never been recognized, and in all probability will go out of existence without recognition, yet it can not be denied that, in a region occupied by many millions of inhabitants, for nearly six months it stood alone between anarchy and order.

"The military forces of the United States held control only in Manila, with its environs, and in Cavite, and had no authority to proceed farther; while in the vast remaining districts the representatives of the only other recognized power on the field were prisoners in the hands of their despised subjects. It was the opinion at Manila during this anomalous period in our Philippine relations, and possibly in the United States as well, that such a state of affairs must breed something akin to anarchy. I can state unreservedly, however, that Mr. Wilcox and I found the existing conditions to be much at variance with this opinion. During our absence from Manila we traveled more than 600 miles in a very comprehensive circuit through the northern part of the island of Luzon, traversing a characteristic and important district.

"In this way we visited seven provinces, of which some were under the immediate control of the central government at Malolos, while others were remotely situated, separated from each other and from the seat of government by natural divisions of land, and accessible only by lengthy and arduous travel. As a tribute to the efficiency of Aguinaldo's government and to the law-abiding character of his subjects, I offer the fact that Mr. Wilcox and I pursued our journey throughout in perfect security and returned to Manila with only the most pleasing recollections of the quiet and orderly life which we found the natives to be leading under the new régime."

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In his descriptions of the many towns they passed through Mr. Sargent leaves on the mind only a picture of peace, order, and happiness among a bright, intelligent, and ambitious people, although their knowledge of the affairs of the world was limited. Quotations from the article will illustrate this effect upon the reader:

"From Nueva Viscaya for the next three weeks of travel we passed from one hospitable town to another and enjoyed a round of novel entertainments. Our route now carried us through the valley of the Rio Grande Cagayan, probably the largest area of level country in Luzon Island. With the exception of the region in the immediate vicinity of Manila and of the narrow strip of land along the western coast, this valley, previous to the revolution, was the firmest and most ancient seat of Spanish authority on the island. Its towns throughout give evidence of the labor that has been expended on them. There are comparatively few nipa huts and many substantial frame buildings. Each town, moreover, has an elaborate church and convent, usually built of brick.

"Many of these churches date back into the last century, one which I remember particularly bearing the date of 1780 as that of its completion. Our entertainment in the different towns varied according to the facilities at hand, but in all cases music was a leading feature. In the absence of all accessories the village band would be called into the building in which we were received, and would play tune after tune well into the night while we conversed at our ease with the village fathers. At the little village of Cordon, which has a population of only a few hundred, we passed one of the pleasantest evenings of our journey. In this instance four accomplished little girls gave the entertainment its particular charm. Soon after our arrival the entire village trooped into the large room of the public building that had

been turned over to our party. The floor was cleared for a dance, and the band commenced with a waltz.

"The towns of Ilagan and Aparri, with their wealthy and pleasure-loving population, provided the most elaborate entertainment. Ilagan is the capital city of the tobacco-raising proviuce of Isabella and is situated near the head of navigation of the Rio Grande; Aparri is situated at its mouth in the province of Cagayan and is the only seaport of the valley. These towns are laid out in regular streets and have many squares of substantial frame buildings. They have each a population of between 10,000 and 15,000. We spent three days at Ilagan, and I think that it was here that we were brought into closest touch with the Filipino character.

"The cultured class, which I have spoken of before, was strongly in evidence, and I think that before leaving we had discussed views with nearly every member of it. They all realized that they were passing through a crucial period in the history of their people, and young and old were eager to acquire all possible knowledge that might assist them to think clearly at this crisis. Their realization of the gravity of their position did not, however, rob their character of its natural gaiety, nor make them forget their duty as hosts. On the evening following our arrival a ball was given in our honor, which was attended by all the élite of the town.

"There were present about 50 young women and twice that number of men. All were dressed in European fashion. The girls were pleasant and intelligent. The men comported themselves in all respects like gentlemen. It was hard to realize that we were in the very heart of a country generally supposed to be given up to semisavages. At intervals between dances many songs were sung, usually by one or two of the guests, while all frequently joined in the chorus. The national hymn was repeated several times with great enthusiasm. The ball lasted until nearly 3 o'clock in the morning and broke up with good feeling at its height.

"On the second evening we were invited to attend the theater, where two one-act Spanish plays were presented by the young society people of the town. The theater itself had been constructed by the villagers only a few weeks before. It was a large bamboo structure, one end of which was used as the village market, while the stage occupied the other end. The stage arrangements were good; curtain, side scenes, and footlight all en règle. In the performance of the play we saw our friends—the typical young Filipinos—in a light in which very few of our nation have had an opportunity to view them. They comported themselves with credit in a position where humor, intelligence, and artistic ability were the requisites of success.

"During our stay at Ilagan we lived at the house of the mayor. This building was of great size and was built of magnificent hard wood from the neighboring forest. One wing, containing a reception room and two bedrooms, was turned over to us. The reception room was very large, with a finely polished floor and with windows along two sides. It contained a piano and a set of excellent bamboo furniture, including the most comfortable chairs and divans imaginable. There were two tall mirrors on the wall and a number of old-fashioned pictures and framed paper flowers. * * * There was one form of hospitality which we met at Ilagan and Aparri that we would gladly have avoided. I still shudder to recall the stupendous dinners that were spread before us night after night. The Filipinos pride themselves on their cookery, and it is indeed excellent."

Mr. Sargent, in testifying as to the drinking habits of the natives, says he did not once see an intoxicated man on his journey. He continues:

"Our party proceeded on the *Oslo* from Aparri around the northwestern corner of the island and landed on the coast near the northern end of the province of South Ilocos. From here we proceeded by land southward through the western provinces. During this part of our journey we were thrown into closer association than previously with the military element of the population, of which I hope to have an opportunity to speak further in a subsequent article.

"The towns on the western coast are even larger than those on the Rio Grande. Vigan, the capital of South Ilocos, has a population of about 28,000. and Candon, farther to the southward, is not far behind this figure. The mayor of Candon was of the hustler type, and was evidently on the outlook for an opportunity to 'boom' his town. On our departure he presented us with a written description of its exceptionally desirable location from a business standpoint. Every town gave evidence of the bitter fighting that had taken place between the natives and the Spaniards, many of the larger buildings which had been used for defense being riddled with bullet holes.

"We no longer passed from town to town through unsettled stretches of country. The fields on both sides of the road were under cultivation and were dotted with laborers, while on the road itself there were always many travelers. The laborers in the fields worked in the shade of large screens of nipa leaves, which they carried with them from place to place."

In conclusion, Mr. Sargent says:

"I can not see what better gauge we can obtain at present of the intelligence and ambition of the whole Philippine race than the progress that has

been made by its favored members with the limited opportunities at their command. Throughout the islands a thirst for knowledge is manifested and an extravagant respect for those who possess it.

"I have seen a private native citizen in a town in the interior exercise a more powerful influence than all the native officials over the minds of the inhabitants, simply because he was known to have been educated in the best schools at Manila, and was regarded, for that reason, as a superior man. The heroes of these people are not heroes of war, but of science and invention. Without rival, the American who is best known by reputation in Luzon is Mr. Edison, and any native with the slightest pretension to education whom you may question on the subject will take delight in reciting a list of his achievements. The ruling Filipinos, during the existence of their provincial government, appreciated the necessity of providing public schools to be accessible to the poorer inhabitants.

"Had events so shaped themselves as to have provided an opportunity for carrying into effect the plans formed on this point, it seems possible that the mental plane of the entire population might have been raised gradually to a surprising height.

"Out of respect to the statements of other people, which the narrative of my experience may seem to contradict, I wish to say that I have found the native of the interior of Luzon an astonishingly different character from the one ordinarily met in Manila. Previous to my journey I regarded those whom I had encountered in that city with great dislike, and after my return I was unable to overcome that feeling. They are not a fair sample of the race, and I can not expect anyone who has formed his judgment on the subject merely from observations of that type to express an opinion similar to mine as recorded above."

The experience of these gentlemen does not point to any very fruitful soil for widespread anarchy, such as sundry alarmists have pictured as the result of Filipino self-government.

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Mr. BACON. I desire to submit some few remarks in reference to the amendment which proposes to give a representative body to the Filipinos, which is embraced, as I understand, in the substitute offered by the minority. In addition to what I shall say personally and what is really of more importance, I propose to submit some extracts from an address recently delivered by Doctor Schurman, the president of the first Philippine Commission.

The question as to whether or not the Filipinos should be allowed representation, of course is largely involved in and dependent upon the question whether they are capacitated for it; and therefore the pursuit of the subject on which I was engaged when my limit of time was reached is not out of order, nor am I seeking here by any device to bring in a subject not germane, but, on the contrary, my discussion is strictly germane to that question.

The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] on Saturday last made a very broad statement that there were no schools in the Philippine Islands other than those which were furnished by the Americans. Of course he was speaking in a general sense, but even in that sense his statement was unwarranted by the facts. I have a little memorandum here, which I think is of interest, and which certainly is in conflict with that very broad statement made by the Senator.

In the city and suburbs of Cebu, prior to the occupation of the American forces, there was a very comprehensive and extensive public-school system. The city of Cebu is on the island of Cebu, one of the Visayan islands, and contains, with its suburbs, 37,000 inhabitants. In that city of 37,000 inhabitants, prior to American occupation and subsequent to American occupation, and prior to any institution of American schools, there were these native schools: In two seminaries and in the public schools of that city of 37,000 inhabitants there were 3,000 students. Eight hundred of them were in the male seminary, 450 of them were in

the female seminary, and the remainder of them in the ordinary public schools of the city. The public schools, educating outside of the seminaries some eighteen hundred children, were supported entirely by the people of the community, almost all of whom were native Filipinos.

Mr. President, it is certainly a most remarkable fact in the consideration of the intelligence of that people and of their effort to improve themselves and educate their children that in a city of 37,000 inhabitants there should be these seminaries and this public-school system, with 3,000 students in attendance. That was the condition prior to the occupation of the Americans in February, 1899, and it continued thereafter. I do not think that even yet there has been a complete organization of American schools in that island. There had been a very partial one up to last summer, and those native schools were still in existence.

I will state to the Senate that that information is not mere hearsay, but was given to me on the ground by an officer of the Army who was on duty and I think occupied the position of assistant adjutant-general of that department, not attached to the personal staff, but an official position which required of him to have this information, and it was given to me by him personally.

It is due that I should say that the male seminary and the female seminary, being institutions of higher learning, were not entirely dependent for their scholars upon the local community, but they came from other parts of that island and from the neighboring islands, just as in the same way in this country students come from different parts to institutions of higher learning than they can get in their immediate locality.

What is true of schools in Cebu is true in greater or less degree in all the important cities and towns of the Philippines. In a much greater degree it is true in Manila, where there is a university and colleges and schools of high rank. I have cited Cebu specially only because I happened to have the figures in that case.

I have already read, Mr. President, the statement of the Schurman Commission, made as the conclusion of their very elaborate examination, that the educated people of the Philippine Islands are the equals of men one meets in similar vocations—law, medicine, business, etc.—in Europe or America. This language is strong, sir, because it is direct and without qualification. It is the conclusion of men than whom in opportunity and capacity to accurately judge there are none superior.

In the more limited opportunity for observation which was afforded to me I saw, not only in Manila, but in the smaller towns and even in the villages, homes which were the abodes of refinement and most cordial hospitality, where were found that surest index of civilization—accomplished and gracious women. What I say in this regard will, I am sure, be indorsed by every officer who has seen service in the Philippines.

I have alluded to the fact that both the Schurman Commission and the Taft Commission have recommended in their reports that these people be allowed to have a representative government. Governor Taft, in his testimony before the committee, repeats it. His testimony is to be found on page 333 of the evidence taken before the Philippine Committee. Governor Taft used this language:

> I think that a popular assembly is what the people desire, and I think it's the best possible means of educating their educated men in popular government. It will give them an opportunity to meet, to express their views, to take part in legislation, to propose and enact laws which they deem useful in the country; it will give them a part in the government, and will by practice teach

them what self-government is. We recommend that in our report, and I am sure that with that the people will have confidence that our statement to them, that we desire to educate them in self-government and give them a measure of self-government, increasing it gradually as they become more fitted for it, is true.

Senator ALLISON. It is a legislative body of all the provinces; that is, it is a general body?

Governor TAFT. Yes, sir. I would not include therein the Moro provinces, for, as I have already stated, the Moros do not desire popular government.

In another place he recommends that they be allowed to elect such a popular representative body not later than January, 1904.

The Schurman Commission was even more emphatic in its recommendation in this regard. Its views are echoed in the recent address of President Schurman, extracts from which, with the consent of the Senate, I shall include in my remarks.

The extracts referred to are as follows:

The time approaches to set our Philippine compass by the fixed stars.

I take as my starting point the motives and objects with which we went into the Philippines. They were impressively voiced by President McKinley, and I have already told you how he set them forth to me three years ago. Our purpose was not selfish, it was humanitarian; it was not the vanity of self-aggrandizement, it was not the greed of power and dominion; no, no, not these, but altruism caring for the happiness of others, philantrophy relieving the Filipinos of oppression and conferring on them the blessings of liberty. This was the supreme consideration with President McKinley.

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The political emancipation of the Filipinos was the controlling object with the President and the people of the United States. I am of course aware that other and less worthy aims appealed to individual Americans and to groups of Americans. It would be strange if it were otherwise, considering how diversified human motives are apt to be. The jingo saw in the annexation of the Philippines another avenue for spread-eagleism; to Americans in the Orient it meant an accession of American influence in Asia; to the Protestant churchman it offered a new field for missionary enterprise; the exploiting capitalist was fascinated by the riches of Philippine forests, lands, and mines, which showed like "the wealth of Ormus or of Ind;" and the sensational press, still delirious from the fever of war and surfeited with the staleness of piping peace, discerned in the Philippines material for new sensations which promised to be as stirring as the excitant was remote, unknown, and dangerously explosive.

All these influences, and others, were undoubtedly at work. Yet, it was not these forces singly or in combination that carried the day; it was the humanitarian object of liberating the Filipinos from Spanish tyranny and bestowing upon them the boon of freedom that decided the President and people of the United States to compel Spain to cede to us her sovereignty over the Philippine Islands.

Fortunate, indeed, that no lower motive prevailed. Any other object than the humanitarian one of carrying the gift of freedom to the Filipinos would have ended in vast and bitter disappointment, or, perhaps, even in poignant remorse. Did we need the Philippines to make our power felt in Asia? No, for we can exert the most potent national influence in all quarters of the world without owning adjacent territory, as our recent experiences in Pekin and Panama have demonstrated to the satisfaction of the most incredulous.

And had we gone into the Philippines for commercial gain, when, think you, would our traders' profits have amounted to the hundreds of millions of dollars which the archipelago has already cost us? And what shall I say of the thousands of brave and generous young Americans who have lost their lives in the Philippines? No prospect of profit however assured, no wealth or advantage however colossal, could ever atone for the precious American lifeblood swallowed up by the hungry soil of Luzon and the Visayas. For such a sacrifice there is only one justification. It is the discharge of duty, service in a righteous cause. If our presence in the Philippines be not justified in its purpose and intent, then our soldiers' blood is on our hands; aye, and all the blood, in that case innocent, of the Filipinos we have fought, the misery we have caused their families, and the devastation we have wrought in their homes.

This awful responsibility we can not escape either before our own consciences or at the bar of history unless we have done what we have done in the Philippines for the sake of redeeming the Filipinos from foreign oppression, saving them from domestic anarchy, and leading them into the ways of self-government and freedom—a blessing at once unmeasured and immeasurable. But I assert that to confer this blessing was the final cause of our acceptance from Spain of sovereignty over the Philippines. Nothing has happened since to alter our purpose. Indeed, all subsequent occurrences have

gone to confirm the wisdom and transcendent nobility of this end and to exhibit the folly and delusion of any other end. Self-seeking ends of every sort are excluded by American policy and stultified by actual conditions in the Philippines. We are in the Philippines for the sake of the Filipinos; but while American sovereignty is to the Filipinos a great boon, to us this extension of sovereignty is not advantageous, but burdensome.

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I wish the Federal Constitution might be amended so as to provide for the perpetual exclusion of Asiatic countries from partnership in our great American Republic. But, whether the Constitution be amended or left intact, I am sure it is the policy of the American people to admit no Asiatic country to the status and privileges of a State or Territory in this Republic of the United States of America. Consequently that independence which is the final term of progressive liberty for the Filipinos, since it can not realize itself by incorporation in our union of American States, must, perforce, when the hour arrives, find embodiment in a separate and self-contained national organization.

Thus, if you look beyond the present and the near future, you descry in the distance an independent and sovereign Philippine republic. The watchword of progress, the key to the future of the political development of the archipelago, is neither colonialism nor federalism but nationalism. The destiny of the Philippine Islands is not to be a State or Territory in the United States of America but a daughter republic of ours—a new birth of liberty on the other side of the Pacific, which shall animate and energize those lovely islands of the tropical seas, and, rearing its head aloft, stand as a monument of progress and a beacon of hope to all the oppressed and benighted millions of the Asiatic continent.

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Very well, what then? A colony, a dependency? For a time this status may suffice; as a permanent arrangement it is impossible. For you propose to dower the Filipinos with an ever-increasing measure of liberty; but liberty grows by what it feeds on and moves rapidly to its goal, which is independence. Then, too, the Filipinos have condensed the experience of centuries into these last half dozen years. They have dreamed of liberty; they have fought for liberty; they have seen in the East the star of independence. These are facts as potent as any other, and deeper than most, in the life of nations.

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From the American point of view, then, ever-increasing liberty and self-government is to be our policy toward the Filipinos; and it is the nature of such continuously expanding liberty to issue in independence. This, then, is our programme for the future, both near and remote. And I believe that while the great heart of the American people rejoices at the privilege of granting progressive liberties to the Filipinos, it throbs with still keener delight at the prospect of a day when the process shall be completed by the grant of a perfect independence. This, I say, is the necessary outcome of our policy toward the Filipinos. From the American point of view, Philippine independence is inevitable. And, from the American point of view, Philippine independence is a consummation devoutly to be wished. Let us now see toward what goal the conditions and aspirations of the Filipinos themselves point.

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Those Americans, patriotic but unversed in history, who desire to recreate the Filipinos in their own similitude, will always be able to demonstrate that that oriental clay is still without shape and seemliness in the American potter's hand, and that for a perfect product, a vessel of honor and glory, the American wheel must be kept going for years, or perhaps for generations, or possibly even for centuries. Heaven save the Filipinos from such an impertinent and meddlesome earthly providence! The Filipinos are to develop along their own racial lines, not along ours; and it is colossal conceit and impudence to disparage them because they are different from ourselves.

Capacity for independent self-government does not necessarily mean capacity like ours to administer a commonwealth like ours, but merely capacity of some sort to maintain peace and order, to uphold law, and to fulfill international obligations. It may be a matter of only a short time when the Christian Filipinos of Luzon and the Visayas will be as well qualified to discharge these functions as Mexico, Peru, Argentina, or Venezuela, and when they are so qualified the American Government has no further duty or business in the archipelago. Any decent kind of government of Filipinos by Filipinos is better than the best possible government of Filipinos by Americans.

For that reason, as I have already said, I am anxious to see Congress grant the Filipinos representative institutions at once. It is no argument against this policy that even educated Filipinos do not possess our conception of civil liberty or of official responsibility. With such powers, ideas,

and sentiments as they have, get them in harness quickly and let them tug and sweat under the burden of national affairs. This is the way men are trained in government. Political aptitudes and political sentiments are the gift of nature and the acquisition of personal experience; they can not be donated by one person or nation to another. And if you do not at once take the educated Filipinos into active partnership in the government of the Philippine Islands, your monopoly of power, if it does not alienate and embitter them, may have the still worse effect of tending to discourage and emasculate them.

If the Filipinos are to learn to govern themselves in the manner of the really free nations, the sooner they get at it the better. Passive acquiescence, without partnership, in American Government of the Philippines will atrophy their own native capacity for self-government. In that way their dependence would mean their servitude. The beginning of all national, as of all personal, freedom is this: "Son of man, stand upon thy feet!" America can not endow the Filipinos with liberty, but by permitting them to govern themselves, starting now with representative institutions and gradually enlarging their powers, it can at least put them under conditions favorable to the development of liberty. To give them a good government from above without evoking their own active cooperation—as England has done for the people of India—is to sap and atrophy their own capacity for self-government.

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In view of subsequent facts and experiences, however, I think it may be not only possible, but feasible, to shorten the period of preparation and transition under American sovereignty. First of all, remember that the first Philippine Commission reported that ultimate independence (after a period of American tutelage) was the goal and aspiration of all intelligent Filipinos. Then we have the testimony of the Taft Commission that the native officials have proved reasonably capable in the administration of public affairs. The test we have made of the governing capacity of the Filipinos has resulted more favorably than could have been anticipated by deduction from their previous political inexperience. Nor is this all, or even the principal item.

Far more important and pregnant of hope is the more or less distinct emergency, under the storm and stress of the last two or three years, of a community of attitude, interest, sentiment, and aspiration, in matters political, among all the Christian peoples of Luzon, the Visayas, and the littoral of Mindanao. Undiscoverable, or at any rate undiscerned, if it existed, in 1899, this consciousness of nationality is to-day so manifest and powerful that General Chaffee, looking at it with the eyes of a military man, has declared, or at least is reported to have declared, that the natives of these islands are all traitors to American sovereignty—all have their hearts set on independence. We know that the strife and passion of war release pent-up mental as well as physical energies and bring to the light of day as realities slumbering fancies, hopes, and sentiments which in times of peace merely flit about the background of consciousness.

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It is quite conceivable, therefore, that the restricted aspiration after immediate independence, which the first Philippine Commission discerned in the Philippines (and reported) in 1899, should, after three years of fighting in all or almost all the provinces of Luzon and the Visayas, have become a universal passion, animating and uniting all these diversified communities. This is all the more probable, as from the beginning the racial aspect of the case has been prominent; and as against the white man of America, who succeeded the white man of Europe, the multifarious peoples of Luzon and the Visayas, at least, felt themselves Malayans and Filipinos. I am not surprised, therefore, if to-day we have to reckon with a universal sentiment and idea of nationality among all the peoples of Luzon and the Visayas with a demand or desire for immediate independence.

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I shall not, however, indulge in guesses as to the date when the new fabric should be reared. On that point I desire to be informed by the Filipinos themselves. And I want to hear not the voice of individuals, however prominent, but the voice of the people. There is, however, only one way of securing it. The people can speak only through the representatives they elect to a popular assembly or house of representatives. Here, then, is another reason why Congress should not delay granting representative institutions to the Filipinos.

To secure representative institutions they took up arms against Spain; the half million educated and propertied Filipinos who would be more immediately represented under the limited suffrage proposed will be conservative rather than radical; and what they, and the poor and ignorant millions of their fellow-citizens for whom they speak, desire, must, in the long run, prevail in the archipelago. The United States is the last people in the world to argue any other people into political subjection. And against a whole na-

tion aspiring and struggling to be independent, it is as impossible to-day to draw up an indictment as it was when Burke repudiated the task in connection with the people of the 13 American colonies.

If the Filipinos desire independence, they should have it when they are qualified to exercise it. The reports of General Chaffee and Governor Taft demonstrate (whatever their own personal views) that the difficulties in the way of independence are gradually disappearing. Let a Philippine popular assembly or house of representatives say whether the Filipinos want independence or not and, if so, at what date they think the grant should be conferred, and we shall then have before us all the conditions necessary for the final solution of the Philippine problem.

If it appears probable, as recent experience seems to indicate, that the Christian Filipinos of Luzon and the Visayas might, at no distant day, govern themselves as well as the average Central or South American Republic, then, in the name of American liberty and democracy, in the name of the political aspirations and ideals of the Filipinos, and in the name of justice and humanity, let the Philippine republic be established. As President McKinley said to me three years ago, we went into the Philippines solely with the humanitarian object of conferring the blessings of liberty on the Filipinos. In its highest potency, liberty and independence are one and inseparable.

And to repeat what ought not to need repetition anywhere within the limits of our free Republic, any decent kind of government of Filipinos by Filipinos is better than the best possible government of Filipinos by Americans.

Mr. BACON. I want to say, Mr. President, if I may be pardoned for speaking of anything included in my personal experience in the Philippines, that my observation of that people satisfied me that they were a very far superior people to what I supposed they were before I went there. They are in some respects far superior to any other Asiatic people I have ever seen. They certainly have a very much higher regard for the outward observance of the decencies and modesties of life, as we understand them and as we observe them, immeasurably more so, than any other Asiatic race which it has ever been my fortune to see. What is the cause of that I do not know, unless it is the ameliorating influences of Christianity upon them, for it is a fact, Mr. President, that they are, speaking of them generally, a Christian people and a people of great devotion to their religion.

Something has been said here about the Filipinos having organized the only republic ever organized in Asia, and there has been controversy as to whether or not they did in fact organize a true republic. I do not propose to go into that question, but there is one thing that I think is absolutely true, and that is that they are the only Christian people in the whole of Asia, either on the mainland or on the islands of that continent. If there is any other Christian people in the whole of Asia, except the Filipinos, I do not know of them. In that vast continent, embracing nearly one-half of the entire human race, among them all there is no Christian people except the Filipinos. Of course, I do not include in that statement the Russians who have gone to Siberia, because they are not an Asiatic people, but a European people.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Among those Christian people of whom the Senator speaks, does he include the Moros?

Mr. BACON. No.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Does the Senator include the Igorrotes?

Mr. BACON. With the permission of the Senator, I will state exactly what I do include. I include the Visayans, who constitute some 2,600,000 people; I include the Tagalogs and others of the islands of Luzon and the neigboring islands, making in all, according to the report of the Schurman Commission, some 6,500,000 people. Those are the number whom I include.

Out of an estimated population of between 8,000,000 and 10,000,000 people, 6,500,000 of them are devoted Christians. There are more than twice as many Christians in the Philippines

than there were people of every class in the thirteen colonies when they wrested their independence from England and founded this mighty nation. They do not belong to the denominations which are most popular—when I say "popular" I mean most numerous—in the United States, but they are none the less most devoted Christians, and the number of them is stated by the Schurman Commission to be 6,500,000. In everything except language they are one people—in religion, in blood, in dress, in habits, in domestic and social customs and observances, and in a strong feeling of common nationality. Whatever was formerly lacking in this last regard they have now been welded together in the white heat of four years' war.

I wish to say further, Mr. President, that all I have said in reference to the Philippine people relates to this particular class and does not include the Moros nor the Negritos nor the Igorrotes. I am speaking of those who are recognized as the representative people of the islands. The Moros, the Senator from Indiana will recognize, are not called there Filipinos in the Moro country. When you go into Mindanao, where there are a great many Moros and also a great many of those we ordinarily call Filipinos, even there there is that distinction made among themselves. In speaking of themselves they say "such a man is a Moro" and "such a man is a Filipino." I am glad of the opportunity to draw the distinction to which the Senator from Indiana has attracted my attention. I am very much obliged to him that he has done so, because I do not wish to be misunderstood in regard to that matter.

But, Mr. President, in speaking thus of the Filipinos, I do not say this with any disposition of criticism or controversy, but simply in connection with the contention which I am endeavoring to make as to the propriety of our conferring upon those people liberal free institutions. The fact that they are a Christian people, a people devoted in their observances of the requirements of the Christian religion, a people whose Christianity has developed into the observances of the outward decencies and modesties of life, a people whose Christianity has developed into the virtues of home and society which characterize Europeans and Americans who are also Christians—all these things, I say, Mr. President, should appeal to us most strongly in dealing with this people and influence us to confer upon them the freest institutions which it is possible for us to conceive them capable of appreciating and enjoying.

It does seem to me the very irony of fate—one that can not fail to sadden any man who goes there and looks upon that people—the very irony of fate that the people who alone in all Asia share with us our religion, and worship with us at the same altar; the people who alone in all Asia have, through the influence of our religion, grown into the love of the social and domestic virtues, which are our richest inheritance; the people who have come nearest to us in our civilization, so far as personal characteristics and observances go; the people among whom this is seen even in the matter of their dress, which closely approaches that of Europeans and Americans, the only people who in all Asia even approximate the outward dress of civilized nations—I say it seems to me to be the very irony of fate that we, the great Christian Republic of all the world, should have been brought into a situation—not criticising it now, but speaking of it simply as an unfortunate fact—that we should have been brought into a situation where there should have been between us this bloodshed, this terrible

war, with its death and desolation and devastation. Mr. President, they are too far away, they belong to a different race, they can never be with us and a part of us, but every good sentiment appeals for their right to be a people, a nation free from yoke or thraldom.

Mr. President, I have felt that it was proper I should say this much for this people. I am not speaking now, as I say, in a controversial spirit or in a spirit of criticism for the purpose of attacking anything that has been done or anybody by whom it has been done. It is a very difficult thing in the heat of war and in the presence of the narration of outrages committed by some of that people upon our own soldiers, of barbarities and atrocities that nobody can possibly defend and everybody must condemn, and which I know the good people of that country condemn, it is extremely difficult for us to recognize the humanities of the situation; and it is with the hope that some one word I say may reach the American people in the presentation to them of the fact that, in spite of the horrors of war, in spite of all the prejudices which grow out of this conflict of life and death between man and man, and between people and people, in spite of all that, that they are a people who should peculiarly commend themselves to us; that they are the only people in the whole of Asia that have the same religion that we have; that they are the only people in Asia that have the same outward regard for the decencies of life and modesties that we have and as we understand, and that they are the only people who have and prize the same social and domestic virtues that we have.

I do not mean to say that other Asiatic nations have not the domestic virtues—far from it, because that would not be true, and it would be unkind in me to state it if it were true—but I say the peculiar social and domestic virtues, those that we most value and that peculiarly appeal to us, they are the virtues that strikingly distinguish the Filipino people from all other Asiatic people. And most deeply impressed, sir, as I am by this fact, I am impelled to the utterance that these are things which should appeal to us most strongly to deal with this people in the kindest, the most considerate, the most indulgent possible manner.

Not only so, but they should appeal to us most strongly to recognize the fact that a people of such religion, a people of such social and domestic virtues, a people with a love of country, which I believe is as strong in them as in any people in all the world, if they desire their liberty, if they desire an independent nationality, these are facts that should appeal to us most strongly, and we should not turn to them a deaf ear either through greed for wealth, the pride of conquest, or the lust of dominion.

Mr. President, I will take the opportunity to say that I have avoided, as Senators know, speaking of any fact connected with either the civil or military administration which came to my knowledge in the Philippine Islands, because I am unwilling to be put into a position of testifying or of appearing to do so. I have carefully avoided it, but, at the same time, it is not improper that I should speak of these general conditions.

There is one thing which appealed to me most pathetically in my intercourse with a great many people there. I take occasion to say that I had no intercourse with any except those who had recognized the sovereignty of the United States and were professedly loyal to it, who were not insurrectos—certainly not actively engaged in insurrection. But a fact which came to my knowledge—and I know it not only came to my knowledge, but

to that of a great many others, because I have heard American officers speak of it—was this: That one great apprehension of that people is that the occupation of those islands by the American people means the extermination of themselves as a people.

That is the grave apprehension of that people. It is with them an ever-present haunting fear. I myself do not think to the extent of their fear the apprehension well-founded. If the islands shall be exploited by Americans, I doubt not that the Filipinos will be pressed to the wall and that under such circumstances they will never be the governing class in their own country. But I do not think the apprehension of utter extermination is well-founded, solely for the reason that, on account of climatic conditions, the islands can never be inhabited by white people. If they could be inhabited by white people I believe our occupation would have the effect of the practical extermination in time of the native population.

Mr. President, I venture to narrate to the Senate a little incident which came within my personal knowledge. I have narrated it elsewhere, but it will not be out of place here, as illustrative of the feeling of the Filipino people and their desire for nationality—a desire which, I think, is as universal as it has ever been among a people.

In conversing with a man who was not a politician and had never been a soldier, who was a man of property, a man of business, and who deprecated the war and wished it to cease, and was extremely anxious to that end that the authority of the United States should be recognized and that there should be no resistance to it, but who still thought that the Filipino people were entitled to their nationality, he said to me in a very dramatic manner, speaking of the condition in which the sovereignty of the United States would leave the islands and the effect upon the political status of its people: "I am not a Spaniard; I am not an American; I am not a Filipino. What am I?" indicating the utter hopelessness in that man's mind of the status of himself and his people, that he was no longer a Spaniard, that he could never become an American, and that as nationality was denied to his race he was not even a Filipino.

In this connection, while it is a little out of order for me to say it, I think one great defect in the pending bill is that there is no provision in it—at least there is not unless it has been made by amendment—under which any Filipino can ever become a citizen of the United States even if he comes to America.

Mr. President, I did not expect to make this statement relative to the Filipinos when I rose. I rose principally for the purpose of putting these documents in the RECORD in order that they might be preserved in some degree of continuity as a part of this debate, and unconsciously I have drifted into this. But, sir, now that I have said I do not regret it, and I would that I could say more, for my heart is heavy with the fate of that unhappy people. I do feel that no man can go to the Philippine Islands, unless he is an extreme partisan, and fail to be interested in that people and to entertain a very great desire that there should be meted out to them much of kindness and much of indulgence and much of consideration, and that above all there should be remembered the extreme desire and anxiety of that people for an independent nationality. I would that to-day we might set their feet in the path that shall lead to it.

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